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The Hebrew Noun *Melkh*, Counsel

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IN my paper *Assyrian Phonology with Special Reference to Hebrew* (AJSL 1, 176, n. 1)[1] I called attention to the fact that the cuneiform transliteration of the Biblical names *Abimelech* and *Ahimelech* was not *Abimalki* and *Aximalki*, but *Abimilki* and *Aximilki*, so that the second element of these compounds could not be *malk*, king, but *milk*, counsel, Aram. מִלְכָּא. The Masorites have recognized this word only in the Aramaic passage Dan. 4 24, מַלְכָּא מִלְכִּי יִשְׁפַּר עָלִיךְ, *O King, let my counsel be acceptable to thee* (which would be in Assyrian: *šarrî, milkî elîka liṭîbû*; cf. *Est.* 16, 19) and in Neh. 5 7 where we have the Niphal נִמְלַךְ, *to take counsel*: וַיִּמְלַךְ לִבִּי עָלַי, *I consulted with myself*, lit. *my heart consulted in me*. In Assyrian we find *imdálik* (= *imtálik*, Aram. אִתְמְלַךְ) instead of Heb. יִמְלַךְ; Assyr. *ul immalik* means *he was ill-advised, injudicious, imprudent* (KB 6, 84, l. 65).

There are, however, a number of passages where we must read מֶלֶךְ, *counsel* = Aram. מִלְכָּא instead of מֶלֶךְ, *king* = Aram. מַלְכָּא. For the Syriac forms *mĕlik̲, mâlkâ*, king, and *mĕlik̲, milkâ*, counsel, *cf.* AJSL 1, 228; 23, 262, n. †. In Assyrian we have *mâliku*, counselor (*cf.* Aram. מַלְכָּא, 2 Sam. 15 12 = יועץ; see Dalman) and *mâliku, malku*, prince. The two words are ultimately identical: Arab. *mâlik*, king, means originally *counselor*, just as Arab. *sâi̯i̯id*, lord (for *sau̯id*; modern *sîd*, cf. the Spanish *Cid*) is connected with Heb. סוֹד, *council*, or Lat. *consul* with *consilium, consultor, consultum* (ZDMG 69, 172, l. 25). Arab. *mâlikah* means, not only *queen*, but also *keen in-*

[1] For the abbreviations see above, p. 41.

sight. Heb. מלך, *king* was compared to Lat. *consul* in Gesenius' *Thesaurus.* Arab. *málaka,* to rule, control, possess, is denominative; *cf.* Arab. *ḥikmah* = Heb. *ḥokmâ,* experience, wisdom, but *ḥukûmah,* rule, dominion, judgment, decision. The stem מלך, *to deliberate* may be connected with Arab. לוך, *to chew,* just as we use *rumination* for *meditation*; a *ruminator* is a man who pauses to deliberate and consider (see below, p. 183). For stems derived from nouns with the prefix מ *cf.* AJSL 23, 251 (also Arab. *mádaqa,* to crush = *dáqqa,* to pound). For Assyr. *malîku, malku,* counselor, governor, ruler, *cf. e. g.* KB 6, 2, p. 108, l. 5; p. 112, l. 31; p. 126, l. 32; also *malkâti,* thou art governess, *ibid.* p. 124, l. 4, and *mitluk milki,* counseling counsel, in the interesting cuneiform acrostic hymn of Sardanapalus, *ibid.* p. 110, l. 27. Zimmern's view that Heb. *mälkh,* king, may be an old Assyrian loanword (AkF 7) seems to me untenable.

Lat. *consilium* (for **consediom*) is connected with *considere,* to sit together, so that our *counsel* and *consider* are ultimately identical (for *l* = *d* cf. ZDMG 61, 195). *Consilium* means, not only *counsel* and *council,* but also *deliberation, insight, prudence, resolution, plan, intention, will.* We use *counsel* in the sense of *consultation, deliberation, advice, instruction, prudence, intent, plan.* Also Assyr. *milku* means *counsel, deliberation, resolution, insight, prudence*; it is a synonym of *ţêmu* = טעם (*cf.* Lat. *sapor*) which means *mind, sense, intellect, intelligence, information, news,* just as we use *mind* (= Lat. *mens*) not only for *intellect,* but also for *contemplation, thought, inclination, desire, intention, purpose.* Assyr. *ţêmu* (cf. JAOS 32, 18) is used also (like נפש) for *self* (AL^5 163).

I showed in my paper *Wâteh ben-Hazael* (AJSL 1, 221) that Assyr. *šanî ţêmi,* alteration of the mind, denoted *mental derangement, insanity,* just as Syr. (דַתַרְעִיתָא) שְׁנִיוּתָא means *mental aberration, madness*: שִׁנֵּי טַעֲמֵהּ or אֲשְׁנִי נַפְשֵׁהּ = *he feigned madness* (Heb. שנה את־טעמו, 1 Sam. 21 14, Ps. 34 1). *Cf.* our *to be out of one's mind* = to be insane. We use *alienation* (lat. *alienatio mentis,* Greek ἀλλοίωσις) for *insanity*; an *alienist* is a psychiatrist or specialist for the treatment of mental diseases. My explanation of Assyr. *šanî ţêmi* = Lat.

alienare mentem or *alienari mente* was doubted by Tiele in his *Bab.-assyr. Geschichte* (Gotha, 1888) p. 384, n. 4; see, however, HW 297[a] and GB[16] 851[a]. Assyr. *Šin*, moon, and *šattu* (constr. *šanat*) year, are derived from the same *šanû*, to change (for the connection between *Šin* and *Sinai* see JAOS 34, 415, below).

I stated above that מלך, *king* meant originally *counselor*, just as Arab. سيد is derived from סוד, *to take counsel*; cf. Georg Hoffmann, *Über einige phönizische Inschriften* (Göttingen, 1889) pp. 55/6. In Syriac the denominative Pael סַוֵּד and the Ethpaal אִסְתַּוַּד mean *to converse*; סָוְדָא denotes *conversation*, especially *intimate conversation of men sitting together*. We have the denominative Hiphil הסיד, *to converse, confer* in parallelism to the Hiphil המליך, *to take counsel* in Hos. 8 4 where we must read:

המליכו ולא ממני הסידו ולא־ידעתי׃

They took counsel, but not from Me;
they conferred without telling Me.

𝔗 has אַמְלַכְתֵּיהּ (see Dalman) *she counseled him* for ותסיתהו, *she persuaded him* in Josh. 15 18. The Aphel means both *to counsel* and *to make king*. Hebr. הסית is merely a byform of הסיד with partial assimilation of the ד to the ס. It does not mean *to incite, instigate, allure,* but corresponds to the German *bereden,* which means not only *to persuade*, but, in the reflexive form, also *to deliberate, confer with someone.* There is no connection between this הסית, *to persuade* and Assyr. *sîttu*, remnant (see p. 184). Nor can it be combined with Ethiop. *aṣḥáta*, to seduce, originally *to corrupt* (Heb. השחית) although a medial ת is sometimes secondary (AJSL 22, 205, below; *cf.* HK 26). The הם prefixed to המליכו is due to dittography. For the confusion of ר and ד in השירו instead of הסידו see *Mic.* 72, l. 1; *Joel*, n. 59; WF 208, n. 60, and for the ש instead of ס: *Mic.* 70, ζ; WF. 219, l. 9. According to some Jewish commentators השירו is miswritten for הסירו (see Wünsche's *Hosea*, p. 337). For ידעתי we need not read (following 𝔊 *οὐκ ἐγνώρισάν μοι*, 𝔖 ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܘܕܥ ܠܝ) ולא הודעני, but ידעתי should be pointed as passive = *I was not informed, notified.* Hos. 8 4 should be

preceded by v. 2 and followed by v. 12, and this triplet should be read as follows:

לִי זָעַק {יִשְׂרָאֵל} אֱלֹהַי יְדַעְנוּךָ {}׃ 8, 2
הֵמְלִיכוּ וְלֹא מִמֶּנִּי הִסְּירוּ וְלֹא־יָדַעְתִּי׃ 4a
וְאֶכְתֹּב־לוֹ רֹב תּוֹרָתִי כִּמוֹ־זָר נֶחְשָׁבוּ׃ 12

To Me Israel cried,
My God, we acknowledge Thee.
But they took counsel without Me,
they conferred without telling Me.
I wrote for them many instructions —
they were deemed alien.

This triplet should be followed by vv. 3. 1 (read כִּנְפָיו יִפְרֹשׂ כִּנְשֶׁר). V. 4b should precede v. 2. The י in יִזְעָקוּ (v. 2) is due to dittography. The transposition of יִשְׂרָאֵל was suggested long ago by Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Kimchi. For רִבּוֹ תּוֹרָתִי read רַב תּוֹרָתִי (𝔖 ܣܓܝ̈ܐ; 𝔏 multa). 𝔐 רִבּוֹ = רוֹב, Esth. 10 3; the ו is due to dittography of the ר (ZDMG 63, 515, 18). *Cf.* the explanation of אֵיסִירֵם for וְאֶסּוֹר in 7 12. *We acknowledge Thee* = We acknowledge Thee, the national God of Judah, as the God of Israel. *Alien* = non-Israelitish, not suitable for Israel; *cf.* Ex. 30 9, Lev. 10 1, Num. 3 4, 26 6. My religion was alien to their own way of thought, foreign from their thought, and foreign to their heart. The ancient Israelites were idolaters; David forced them to adopt the worship of JHVH, but after the disruption of the kingdom they relapsed again into idolatry. They preferred the bacchanalian worship of the Canaanite Baals to the Law of JHVH. Peiser, *Hosea* (1914) p. 31 reads: הֵשִׁירוּ כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב, *they took away their silver and gold*, preceded by יָרַד פּוּל הַמֶּלֶךְ, *King Phul came down*; he derives הֵשִׁירוּ from נָשַׁר (*cf.* GB16 917b, l. 3).

The noun *melkh*, counsel, mind, is found in Hos. 7 3 5b 7b (also in Zech. 9 5b). The first of these passages is a gloss to 7 5a which should be read as follows:

יוֹם־יוֹם הֵחֱלוּ שָׂרִים מַחֲמַת הַיָּיִן

Day by day the princes were sickened
with bottles of wine.

The *bottles* were, of course, leathern bottles (wine-skins). AV *with bottles of wine* is more correct than RV *with the heat of wine*. The pointing חֲמַת in Gen. 21 14 is wrong. The final *t* is a part of the stem (*cf.* Arab. حميت) not the feminine ending. Lagarde thought the absolute state was חֵמָת = *ḥimat* (a form like שֵׁכָר = Assyr. *šikaru*). Ibn Ezra and Kimchi explained חמת יין as נאד מלא יין. Grotius says: *In Hebraeo est ab utre vini.*—The verb החלו should be pointed as passive (Rashi: נעשו שרינו חולים). Similarly we must read הָזְנוּ in 4 10 18, and הָזְנִית in 5 3, also תָּזְנָה in Am. 7 17 (*cf.* AJSL 32, 70).—For יום we must read יוֹם־יום; *cf.* my remarks on Ps. 90 5 in JBL 31, 116; ZDMG 65, 564, 3.—𝔐 מלכנו after יום is miswritten for מלכם. Duhm (ZAT 31, 25) reads יום מלכם which is supposed to mean *on the birthday of their king* (Zachariah). 𝔊 *ἡμέραι τῶν βασιλέων ὑμῶν* (but 𝔖 ܒܝܘܡ ܕܡܠܟܟܘܢ, 𝔍 *dies regis nostri*) read יום מלכיכם, not מלכיהם, as Duhm states; 𝔗 has יומא דמניאו עליהון מלכיהון. Duhm seems to have had in mind v. 7ᵇ where 𝔊 has *πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἔπεσαν* = כל מלכיהם נפלו. The reading מלכם is correct, but it must be pointed מַלְכָּם, *their counsel, their mind,* and this should be inserted in the second half of this verse, where we must read instead of משך ידו את לצצים, followed by כי קרבו כתנור לבם בְּאָרְבָּם, at the beginning of v. 6:

השכירו את־מַלְכָּם מלצצים כי־קדח לִבָּם

The sportlings fuddled their mind
when their brain was inflamed.

Sportlings is a contemptuous diminutive for *sports*, i. e. men who like fast living, revelers. As a rule, לץ denotes a *derider* or *mocker*, just as our *to make sport of* means *to deride*. The reading מלוצצים (Polel of לוץ) was suggested by Ibn Ezra, although he derived לצצים from לצץ. Since this participle was originally preceded by מלכם, the omission of the prefix מ may be due to haplography.—In משך ידו instead of השכירו we have again a confusion of ד and ר. Buhl (WF 84) adheres to 𝔐. Sievers (1905) reads השכירו מֶלֶךְ לצצים; see Guthe's translation in Kautzsch's AT³. Paul Ruben (1896) suggested משכירי for משך ידו.

In v. 6[a] קרבו is a corruption of קדח (𝔊 ἀνεκαύθησαν, 𝔖 ܐܬܩܕ̈ܚܘ). This emendation was suggested long ago by Buxtorf the younger (1653). 𝔐 כתנור is a tertiary gloss, and בארבם after לבם is a corruption of בארבה. This is a misplaced quaternary gloss to the tertiary gloss בְּשֻׁבָךְ, *in a dove-cote*, which appears in v. 12 after איסירם in the corrupt form כשמע. 𝔊 ἐν τῇ ἀκοῇ read בשמע.—The ל prefixed to עדתם (*cf.* עדת דברים, Jud. 14 8) is a misplaced variant to ב in בשבך (*cf.* WF 218).—For 𝔐 אֲיִסְרִם we must read וְאֶאֱסֹר = וְאֶאֱסֹר (GK[28] § 68, f). The suffix in איסירם is due to the suffix in the preceding אוירם; the first י represents the misplaced ו, *and*, and the second י is miswritten for ו in the (incorrect) *scriptio plena* אסור; this ו is due to dittography of the ר; *cf.* אפרוש, at the beginning of this verse, and רבו (Q[e]rê רַבֵּי) = רוֹב = רב in 8 12.

The noun שׁוֹבָךְ, *dove-cote* (not שׁוּבָךְ!) is common in post-Biblical Hebrew (*cf.* EB 1560, 5). It is identical with שׁוֹבָךְ האלה, 2 Sam. 18 9, which denotes a *snarl of branches*; cf. שְׁבָכָה. *network, lattice* = שִׁבְכָּה. In Assyrian we have *šabikû*, headband, net, (HW 638[a]) which appears in Syriac as סְבָכָא. Heb. סבך, *thicket* (originally *interlacement, interweaving, entanglement, tangle, wattle*; cf. JBL 33, 291) is phonetic spelling for שבך. It would be better to read בִּסְבָךְ or בִּשְׁבָךְ in Gen. 22 13; בְּשִׂבֵךְ עץ, Ps. 74 5; מְשִׂבַּכְתּוֹ, Jer. 4 7; שִׂבְכֵי יער, Is. 9 17, 10 4. Also *Semachonitis* = *Lake Ḥûlah* is derived from this word (see below, p. 186). 𝔗 has שׁוּבַכָּא (Dalman, שׁוֹבַכָּא) for אֲרֻבָּה in Is. 60 8, כיונים אל ארבתיהם, *like doves to their cotes*. For the Palestinian dove-cotes or pigeon-towers (מגדלות) see RB 1642; RE[3] 19, 394, 45. Heb. מגדל means also *press, case, cabinet*. The original meaning of ארבה is *lattice, grating*, and the primary connotation of ארב, *to lie in wait* is *to try to tangle, entrap*.

Peiser combines בארבם in v. 6 with Assyr. *erbu*, income, from ערב (HW 127[b]). He reads כי־קרבו כתנור בארבם, which is supposed to mean *sie nahen, wie einem Ofen, mit ihren Geschenken*, and v. 12[b]: איסירם כשם על עֵדְתָם, *wie Šem auf Grund ihres Zeugnisses* (𝔖 ܐܣܝܪ̈ܝܢ made the same mistake) *will ich sie auslösen*; he thinks, this may be an allusion to the

story of Noah, while the לְצִיצִם in v. 5 may refer to Ham and Japhet (p. 29, n.***). He adds that the text of the Minor Prophets may be based on a *Kollegheft.* Duhm (ZAT 31, 26) reads כְּשׁוֹר עַד דַּעְתָּם, *wie ein Rind, bis sie's merken,* for כשמע לעדתם, Riessler (*cf.* JBL 32, 111) has אֲיַסְּרֵם כְּשִׁמְעָ֫ רַעְתָּם, *ich fessele sie entsprechend dem Ruf ihrer Schlechtigkeit.* Theiner (1828) rendered: *ich werde sie züchtigen, wie ich ihren Stämmen drohen liess*; Reuss: *ich züchtige sie, wie es in ihrer Versammlung verkündet wird*; Orelli (1908): *ich will sie mit dem Stocke züchtigen, dass sie zur Einsicht kommen* (אֲיַסְּרֵם בְּשֵׁבֶט לְדַעְתָּם).

V. 5[b] מָשַׁךְ יָדוֹ אֶת לְצִיצִם, for which we must read הִשְׁכִּירוּ אֶת מְלֻכָם מִלְּצִיצִם, *the sportlings fuddled their mind,* is rendered by Orelli: *er wechselt Händedruck mit Höhnenden*; Augusti and De Wette (1810) translated: *er trinkt Spöttern zu*; Theiner: *zu denselben* (the feasts) *zieht der König Possenreisser hinzu.*

We must read in the second half of v. 12:

כְּעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם אוֹרִידֵם וְאֶסֹּר עֲדָתָם

I'll down them like birds of the air,
and shut up their flock.

This line is a gloss to v. 12[a] where we must transpose the two hemistichs (*cf.* JBL 31, 120, v. 2):

אֶפְרֹשׂ עָלֵיהֶם רִשְׁתִּי כַּאֲשֶׁר יֵלֵכוּ

I shall spread my net upon them,
as soon as they move.

The position of כאשר ילכו at the beginning of v. 12 in 𝔐 is due to the אשור הלכו at the end of the preceding verse.— For אוריד *cf.* Obad. 4. *To down* = to bring down, to cause to fall. V. 12[a] should be preceded by v. 11[a], and followed by v. 2[b]. V. 1[a] and v. 2[a] are explanatory glosses to v. 2[b], and v. 1[b] is a tertiary gloss to v. 1[a].

The first two words of 7 1 belong to the preceding chapter. We must read:

גַּם־יְהוּדָה יָשִׁית קָצִין־לָךְ בִּרְפֹּאִי לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל

O'er thee, too, will Judah set a leader,
when I heal Israel's nation.

This is a gloss to the last triplet of the preceding poem which I have discussed in my paper on Assyr. *ramku*, priest = Heb. *komer* (AJSL 32, 69). The hemistich בשובי שבות עמי is a tertiary gloss to ברפאי לבית ישראל. Duhm (ZAT 31, 24) combines not only the first two words, but the first two verses of c. 7 with the preceding chapter.

As stated above, v. 3 is a gloss to v. 5[a]. For מֶלֶךְ in v. 3 we must point מַלְכָּם. The preceding ישמחו is not a transposition of ימשחו, but a corruption of וישנחו. This is a transposed doublet (WF 220, vi) of צחן; *cf.* שלמה = שמלה and צחק = שחק; the צ in צחנה, Joel 2 20 is due to the ח (ZDMG 64, 708, 25). Syr. צחנא means *filthy, impure*. In Arabic we have صخّة, *filth*, also سنخ and (with partial assimilation) زنخ, *to become rancid, tainted, fetid*. We find similar transpositions and partial assimilations in Bibl. Aramaic חספא = Syr. חצפא, חצבא, חזבא, Ethiop. צחב, Assyr. *xaçbu*, Arab. خزف, which are all modifications of חסב. The original form of צנח, *to be foul* was סנח, and שנח in our passage must be explained in the same way as השירו in 8 4 for הסידו. Heb. סנח (שנח) means *to muddle*, i. e. *to make muddy, foul, turbid, cloudy, confused*. The noun שרים at the end of the verse is a tertiary gloss, based on the first hemistich of v. 5[a]. In 𝔖, שרים at the end of v. 3 is combined with the first two words of v. 4: ܒܚܫܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܫܪܝܪ.

𝔐 בכחשיהם before שרים at the end of v. 3 is a corruption of בנחשיהם, *with their debauches*. This word is connected with נחשת (Ezek. 16 36) = *debauchery*, lit. *effusion* (cf. BL 37, l. 5; 90, n. 35). In Assyrian several words denoting *profusion, abundance, luxuriousness* mean also *voluptuousness, lecherousness, debauchery* (cf. Delitzsch, *Prol.* 72; HW 458[b]. 324[b] 377[a]. 287[a]. 177[a]). The original meaning of Assyr. *nuxšu* is *outpour, effusion, profusion*. In l. 43 of the Flood Tablet (KB 6, 233) it means *downpour*; see Haupt, *Akkad. Sprache* (1883) p. xlii. Assyr. *naxâšu*, to pour out, can hardly be connected with Arab. نشغ, *to water* (نشغ *nušuḥ* is said to mean *drunkards*). It seems to correspond to Syr. נחת, *to come down*; cf. אַחַת מִטָּרָא, *He sent down rain*, and Ps. 65 11:

נחת גדודה ברביבים תמוגגנה צמחה תברך׃

which means: *Drenching its* (the earth's) *furrows with showers, Thou'lt make it* (the earth, *i. e.* the grain-field) *wave, Thou'lt bless its growth.* For the *waving* cf. Ps. 72 16: ירעש כלבנון פריו, *its crop will wave like Lebanon* (JBL 33, 185) and Nah. 1 5 (ZDMG 61, 278). Heb. גדודים means lit. *cuts* made by the plow; it does not denote *ridges* (thrown up by the plow) or *clods.* The prefixed תלמיה רוה is an explanatory gloss to נחת גדודיה. Heb. נחת is an Aramaic loanword as is also תקף = ڤقف = Assyr. *pašâqu* (cf. GB[16] 888). For נחשת from נחש = Aram. נחת, *to come down* cf. Arab. *názal*, rain, and *nuzâlah*, seminal discharge, from *názala*, to descend.

Hos. 7 3 should be read:

ברעתם ישמחו מלך ובנחשיהם

They muddle their mind with their badness
and with their debauches,

and this line is a gloss to v. 5[a]:

יום־יום החלו שרים מחמת היין

Day by day the princes were sickened
with bottles of wine.

A third passage in this chapter, where we find the noun *melkh*, counsel, is v. 7[b] which is a gloss to the first half of that verse. Instead of the second hemistich of v. 7[a]: ואכלו את־שפטיהם, *and they have devoured their judges*, we must read ויכלו את־שפטיהם, *and they complete their judgments*, i. e. *their punishments, their doom.* Heb. שפט (not שפט!) corresponds to Assyr. *šipṭu*, judgment, punishment. HW 638[a] reads *šibṭu*, from *šabâṭu*, to strike; contrast GB[16] 856[b]. We need not suppose that there was a noun שפט, *judgment*, so that 𝔐 שפטיהם would stand for שפטיהם (*cf.* אהלים for אהלים). The verb כלה, *to be completed* means also to be *final*, i. e. *settled, decided*, e. g. 1 Sam. 20 33: וידע יהונתן כי כלתה (כלה היא 𝔐) מעם אביו להמית את דוד, *Jonathan knew that it was determined by his father to slay David*, and Esth. 7 7: ראה כי כלתה עליו הרעה מאת המלך, *Haman saw that there was evil determined against*

him by the King (cf. our *his mind was all made up*). 𝔖 uses גרם = גמר = גמל (*Est.* 55). *They complete their doom* = they make it irrevocable, inevitable. The meaning of כלה in this sense is not *plotted*, as stated in Brown's lexicon. For 𝔐 כלה היא in 1 Sam. 20 33 *cf.* JAOS 25, 72.

V. 7ª must be read:

כֻּלָּם יְחַמּוּ כְתַנּוּר וְיִכְלוּ אֶת־שְׁפָטֵיהֶם

They all are hot like an oven,
thus completing their doom,

and the gloss to it in the second half of this verse is:

כָּל מַלְכֵיהֶם נָפָלוּ אֵין־קֹרֵא־בָהֶם אֵלַי

which does not mean *All their kings are fallen, there is none among them that calls unto Me,* but *All their minds* (i. e. *intentions, purposes*) *fall to the ground; none among them invokes Me,* i. e. all their plans come to naught, because they are dissolute and irreligious. *Cf.* Ps. 5 11 where we must read הַשְׁמֵם מוּעֲצוֹתֵיהֶם יִפָּלוּ, *Destroy them, let their plans fail* (lit. *fall* through). The prefixed מ in 𝔐 ממועצותיהם is due to dittography. For מַלְכֵיהֶם, *their kings* in Hos. 7 7ᵇ we must read again מְלִכֵיהֶם, *their counsels.* It is possible that this line is not a gloss to 7 7ª, but to 8 4 (הֵמְלִיכוּ וְלֹא מִמֶּנִּי הִסְרִיכוּ וְלֹא־יָדַעְתִּי, *But they took counsel without Me, they conferred without telling Me*) which I have discussed above, on p. 56.

C. 8 contains the first section of this poem, whereas c. 7 represents the second section. Each section consists of two stanzas, and each stanza is composed of two triplets with 3+2 beats. In the same way the poem in the preceding chapters 5 and 6 consists of two sections, each section comprising two stanzas, and each stanza two triplets with 3+3 beats; there the first section is contained in c. 6, and the second in c. 5. I have shown *Joel* 388, below, that the first four couplets of Joel's ancient poem on the locusts (which may be older than the earliest document of the Hexateuch) are preserved in c. 2 of the (Maccabean) Book of Joel, whereas the second section, which also consists of four couplets with 3+3 beats, is found in c. 1 (*cf.* JAOS 34, 427, n. 24; also *Micah*, n. 1 on VIII).

According to Duhm (ZAT 31, 26/7) Hos. 7 3–7 contains three quatrains of lines (hemistichs) with 3 beats; vv. 8—12: four quatrains with 3 and 2 beats; vv. 13—16: four triplets with 3 beats; *cf.* his metrical translation in *Die Zwölf Propheten* (1910) pp. 32/3. Still less acceptable is the arrangement of the lines in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica.* Marti combines 7 1–7 with 6 7–11, and 7 8–16 with 8 1–3 (8 4–14 being regarded as another poem). The section 6 7—7 7 contains, according to Marti, 10 tetrastichs. Sievers (*cf.* above, p. 49) gave the text in triplets and couplets with 5 (*i. e.* 3+2) beats; *cf.* Guthe's translation in Kautzsch's AT[3]. In Gunkel-Gressmann's AT Hos. 7 is not translated. Peiser arranges c. 7 in five quatrains with 3 beats in each line (hemistich). He reads *e. g.* v. 14:

יילילו בעמיו על משכבותם
על דגן בלבם יתגודדו

Sie jammern zu Ammiu auf ihren Lagern,
Für Dagon machen sie in ihrer Brust Einschnitte.

Similarly he reads v. 3:

בכחשיהם ישמחו מלך

Mit ihren Lügen erfreuen sie Melech.

This is all impossible.

I will give, in conclusion, the second section of Hosea's poem in cc. 7 and 8, which contains the three passages with the noun *melkh*, counsel. Other passages will be discussed in a dissertation by one of my students. It might be well to add that יתבולל in v. 8 is a corruption of יִתְבַּלָּה־לוֹ; the לו is the so-called *dativus ethicus* (WF 219, l. 10). In Syriac we find מְבַלָּא־לֵהּ עָלְמָא, *the world waxes old.* This verb means, not only *to wax old,* but also *to wear* or *waste away, be consumed, shrink, shrivel, dwindle*; it is derived from בלי which is a compound of the preposition ב with the negative לא (AJSL 22, 259). Ewald derived יתבולל, *er veraltet* from בלל = נבל. G. A. Smith considers the derivation from בלה improbable. Duhm (ZAT 31, 26) regards בלל as a byform of בלה.

Ephraim is like an unturned flapjack, one side of which is

burned, while the other is still raw, because the upper classes are overcivilized and degenerate, whereas the lower classes are crude and rude; the noblemen have abandoned the religion of JHVH (אין־קרא־בהם אליו) while the common people still worship the Canaanite gods; the princes are atheists, the peasants idolaters.

For 𝔐 ידע instead of יתבונן (Is. 1 3) *cf.* WF 217, l. 2. 𝔊 has twice *οὐκ ἔγνω*, 𝔖 ܠܐ ܝܕܥ, but 𝔗 לא ידעין and לא מסתכלין, 𝔍 *nescivit* and *ignoravit*.

The famous passage concerning the baker is due to a misunderstanding of מַאֲוֵיהֶם, *their lust* or *desire* (from אוה) in v. 6b. Similarly the gloss in Obad. 9, referring to the wisdom of the Edomites, is due to the misreading תבונה instead of תבואה (AJSL 26, 11). Heb. מַאֲוֶה is a form like Arab. *mâ'ŭa"*, refuge, from أوى which means originally *to seek* (cf. German *aufsuchen, besuchen*). This מַאֲוֵיהֶם was corrupted to מַאֲפֵיהֶם (Lev. 2 4) and then to מְאַפֵּיהֶם and אֹפֵיהֶם. Also in Ps. 140 9 we must read אַל־תִּתֵּן מַאֲוֵי רָשָׁע, *Grant not the desire of the wicked!* (not מַאֲוַיי or מַאֲוָיי!). The word was written מאווי, to indicate the consonantal ו, and the second ו was afterwards misread י (*cf.* Margolis' grammar, § 2, h). 𝔊 *εἰς πέψιν* and 𝔖 ܠܡܐܦܐ read מַאֲפֶה for מְאֹפֶה in v. 4. Drake, *Hosea* (Cambridge, 1853), p. 120 suggested that מְאֹפֶה might be pointed מַאֲפֶה. In this way we get rid of the baker in Hosea's poem. Wellhausen says, *Es wäre kein Schade, wenn wir den berüchtigten Bäcker des Hosea auf gute Manier los würden.* We must retain the baker, however, in the tertiary gloss v. 4b. We must, of course, read, with Oort, אפה כמו תנור בוער־הם instead of כמו תנור בוערה מאפה. Grætz prefixed the ה of בערה to מאפה as ה interrogative, reading הַמְאַפֶּה ישבות מהבעיר. Ibn Ezra said that בערה was accented בְּעֵרָה, not בַּעֲרָה, because it was masculine, not feminine; he regarded it as a form like נחלה, Ps. 124 4 (ותניר לשון זכר על כן מלת בוערה מלעיל כמו לילה נחלה עבר על נפשנו). Hitzig-Steiner thought, מאפה alluded to מנאפים (preceding כמו תנור) which might also be read *min ôfîm*. Michaelis and Stuck suggested מאפים instead of מנאפים (*cf.* Simson's *Hosea*, p. 203). Nor does Oort's reading מְנַפְּחִים, which has been adopted by Valeton, *Amos*

und Hosea (Giessen, 1898) p. 216, commend itself. Duhm reads at the beginning of v. 4: כֻּלָּה מִן־אֹפִים *Alles ist hergenommen von den Bäckern.* 𝔐 מנאפים is correct; it is a misplaced gloss to the first hemistisch of v. 9, where we must read זָנִים instead of זרים; 𝔐 מנאפים does not mean *idolaters*, but *adulterers*, i. e. *lewd* and *licentious* (cf. Matt. 5 28). Of course, כלם מנאפים might also be explained as a gloss to the first hemistich of v. 7[a].

The statement in the tertiary gloss v. 4[b], *the baker stops stirring the fire from the time he has kneaded the dough till it is fermented* is not germane to the genuine text of Hosea's poem, but it is correct: the baker makes up the dough and kneads it at night; after it has fermented, he kneads it again in the morning before it is baked. He must stir the fire in order to bake the dough, but during the process of panary fermentation a moderate heat is sufficient to keep the rising dough warm. Luther has *er lässt den Teig durchsäuern* (cf. Matt. 13 33) *und aufgehen.* Wellhausen's statement that ישבת מעיר (with the participle instead of the infinitive) is not Hebrew, is gratuitous; *cf.* GK[28] § 120, b; Nöldeke, Syr. Gr.[2], p. 205, below; WdG 2, 197, B (لم يزل قاعدا). In English the participle may be used instead of the infinitive; we can say *he ceases working, he stops stirring.* This is the so-called *participial infinitive.* Leimbach, *Die Weissagungen des Osee* (Fulda, 1907) explains מעיר (𝔖 مع صبيها, 𝔗 *civitas*) as *Heizer* (stoker, fireman).

Heb. קשת רמיה is not a *deceitful bow*, but a *slack bow*, i. e. a bow which slackens when it is bent so that it is impossible to discharge an arrow (*cf.* ترامى, *to be lax, slack* = ارتخى). Luther's *loser Bogen* (Ps. 78 57) does not mean *loose*, but *deceitful*; in the Polychrome Bible Wellhausen rendered: *treacherous bow*, adding in the Notes on the Psalms: *A treacherous bow is like a gun that misses fire.* Still more impossible is Orelli's explanation, *ein tückisch versagender Bogen, der den Pfeil nach dem zurückschleudert, der ihn hält.* Nor can we translate, with G. A. Smith, *a bow which swerves*, or, with Duhm, *ein schlechter Bogen.* J. D. Michaelis (1782)

rendered: *wie ein Bogen, der nicht zum Ziele trifft*, and Fr. Rückert, *Hebr. Propheten* (Leipzig, 1831): *falscher Bogen.* In his *Kleine Propheten*[3] Wellhausen has correctly *schlaffer Bogen*; so, too, Reuss. Also Σ translated: *ἀντεστραμμένον* instead of 𝔊 *τόξον ἐντεταμένον* which may be a corruption of *οὐ ἐντεταμένον* (*cf.* Simson's *Hosea*, p. 226).

For מזעם at the end of v. 16[a] read ביום זעמם, lit. *on the day of the wrath against them*, i. e. *the day of their punishment.* Duhm reads מְעֻזִּים, *making strong* instead of מזעם.

The reading מזבחותם instead of משכבותם is suggested by Guthe in Kautzsch's AT[3].

𝔐 על דגן ותירוש in the secondary passage v. 14 means *on account of grain und must*, i. e. *praying for good harvests and vintages.* It cannot mean in this connection *over their food and drink*, i. e. *during their meal* (cf. Lat. *super vinum et epulas*) although 𝔊 renders: *ἐπὶ σίτῳ καὶ οἴνῳ* (*cf.* *ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ*, Xenoph. *Cyrop.* 1, 3, 12) and 𝔗 *super triticum et vinum* (cf. *Kings*, SBOT 134, 27). Of course, *ἐπί* may mean also *for the purpose, for the sake of.*

For יתגוררו we must read יתגודדו. Döderlein (*apud Grotium*) says: *Forsan legendum* יתגודדו, *inciderunt se; sic LXX* κατετέμνοντο (*secabant sese*) *qua voce etiam Reg. 18, 28 utuntur.*

The Hebrew text of the second section of this Hoseanic poem should be arranged as follows:

i	7, 8	אפרים בעמים[α] יתבלל[2 3 5 4 1]-לו	[β]היה־עגה בלי־הפוכה:
	9	אכלו זרים כחו[γ]	והוא לא־ידע
		וגם שיבה [δ]רקה־בו	והוא־לא יתבונן:
ii	5[a]	יום־יום () החלו שרים	מ[ε]חמת היין: [ζ]
	6[b]	כי־הלילה ישן מאפיהם	בבקר הוא־בוער: [η]
	7[a]	כלם יחמו כתנור	ויכלו את־שפטיהם:
iii	11[a]	ויהי אפרים כיונה	פותה אין־לב:

12a [] אפרים עליהם רשתי [כאשר ילכו]κ:
2b עתה סבבום מעלליהם נגד־פני היו:μλ

13a iv אוי־להם כי־נדדו ממני שד־להם כי־פשעו־בי:
16a {} היו כקשת רמיה {ישובו לבעלים}
יפלו בחרב שריהם ביון־ם זע־מם:ν

(α) 7, 8 הוא (β) אפרים (γ) כלם מנאפים
(δ) 10 ויענה גאון ישראל בפניו ולא שבו אל יהוה אלהיהם ולא בקשהו
(ε) 3 ברעתם ישמחו במלכם ובכחשיהם:οο [בכל זאת:ξξ
(ζ) 6a. 5b דשכיהו את־(מלכים) כי־קרבו:ππ לבם:
(η) 6b כאש להבה [מלצצים (ϑ) 4a כמו־תנור בוער־הם:ρρ
(ι) 7b כל מלכיהם נפלו אין־קרא־בהם אלי:
(κ) 12b כעוף השמים אורידם אסירם עדתם
(λ) 1 ננלה עון אפרים ורעת שמרון:νν
(μ) 2a ובל יאמרו בלבם כי־זכרתי זכרתי
(ν) 13b ואנכי אפדם והמה דברו עלי כזבים: ולא זעקו אלי בלבם כי
15 יילילו על מטתם בהבותם על דגן ותירוש יתגודדו ימרו בי: ואני
יסרתי חזקתי זרועתם ועלי חשבו רע:φφ

(ξξ) 7, 11b מצרים קראו אשור הלכו (οο) 3 שרים (ππ) 6 כתנור
(ρρ) 4b אפה ישבת מעיר מלוש בצק עד חמצתו (σσ) 12b בשמעם (ττ) 6a ביארבם
(νν) 1 כי־יפעלו שקר וגנב יבוא יפשט גדוד בחוץ
(φφ) 16b לשונם זעם־להם בארץ מצרים

This may be translated as follows:

i 7, 8 Ephraim «shrinks 'mong the peoples
β like an unturned flapjack;
9 Lewdness consumed her strength,γ
but she does not know it;
Her hair is sprinkled with gray,
but she does not notice it.δ

ii 5[a] ‹‹Day› by day () the princes ‹were› sicken‹ed›
‹with› ‹bottles› of wine;›
6[b] Their ‹lust, if› it slept at night,
was rekindled ‹a›-mornings.›
7[a] They are all hot like an oven,
thus ‹complet›ing their doom›.‹

iii 11[a] Ephraim is become like a pigeon,
gullible, senseless:
12[a] [] I shall spread my net upon them
[as soon as they move.]κ
2[b] Their deeds have now enveloped them,
they are before Me.λμ

iv 13[a] Woe to those who ran away from Me!
destruction to the traitors!
16[a] {} They were like a slackening bow,
{going back to ‹the Ba›als›.}
Their princes will fall by the sword
‹on their day of› wrath.ν

(α) 7, 8 she (β) Ephraim is (γ) 4[a] they are all adulterers
(δ) 10 Israel's glory was humbled before Him, yet they did not return to their God. JHVH, nor seek Him despite all thisξξ
(ε) 3 They ‹muddle› their ‹mind› with their badness,
and with their de›bauch›esοο
(ζ) 5[b] The sportlings ‹fuddl›ed ‹their› (‹mind›)
when their brain ‹was inflam›edππ
(η) 6 like a flaming fire (θ) 4[a] ‹they are› like a burning ovenρρ
(ι) 7[b] All their ‹minds› fall to the ground,
none among them invokes Me.
(κ) 12[b] I 'll down them like birds of the air,
‹and shut up›σσττ› their flock.
(λ) 1 ‹Laid bare is Ephraim's guilt, Samaria's badness›υυ
(μ) 2[a] But they do hot think ‹in› their heart
‹that› I mark their badness.
(ν) 3[b]. 14 But I will redeem them, though they have spoken lies concerning Me, and although they did not cry to Me in their heart, but howl‹ed› at their ‹altars, ‹lacerat›ing their flesh for grain and must, thus dis›obey›ing Me. Although I had ad-

monished them, and strengthened their arms, they planned mischief against Me.$\phi\phi$

($\xi\xi$) 7, 11^b they invoked Egypt, they went to Assyria (oo) 3 the princes
($\pi\pi$) 6 like an oven [the dough till it is fermented
($\rho\rho$) 4^b ›a baker stops stirring the fire from the time he has kneaded
($\sigma\sigma$) 12^b ‹in› a ‹cote› ($\tau\tau$) 6^a *in ‹a› ‹dove-house*
($\upsilon\upsilon$) 1 They practice‹› deceipt, and thieves
come in, bands engage‹› in plunder *without*
($\phi\phi$) 16^b Their tongue derid‹ed Me in the land of Egypt.